

~~SECRET~~

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

5 September 1957

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Allan Evans, State (OIR)  
Colonel E. T. Seaburn, USA (ACSI)  
Captain W. S. Howell, USN (ONI)  
Colonel W. B. Sawyer, USAF (ACoin 2B2)  
Colonel J. M. Pittman, USA (JIG)

SUBJECT: NIE 74-57: THE OUTLOOK FOR GHANA

1. The attached terms of reference were agreed on at the meeting of the IAC representatives on 5 September.
2. All agencies are invited to contribute to any section within their competence to do so.
3. It is requested that contributions be received in this office by the close of business on 28 October.

*William P. Bundy*  
WILLIAM P. BUNDY  
Deputy Assistant Director  
National Estimates

Distribution "B"

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

5 September 1957

SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: NIE 74-57: THE OUTLOOK FOR GHANA\*

THE PROBLEM

To estimate Ghana's prospects for political stability and economic progress, and its probable orientation and policies over the next few years.

SCOPE

We suggest that this NIE parallel recent estimates on Tunisia and Morocco in terms of scope and format, and in concentrating on developments over the next two years, but making longer-range estimates whenever possible. While a relatively brief paper is envisaged, some

---

\* This estimate will supersede the paragraphs on the Gold Coast in NIE 72-56, "Conditions and Trends in Tropical Africa," published 14 August 1956.

SECRET

SECRET

basic country data should be included in the first NIE which gives the area more than minimum coverage. Particular attention should be paid to: the future of the present political leadership, the outlook for development of the economy, relations with neighboring regions and other emerging African states, and Ghana's attitudes toward the Soviet Bloc and the major Western countries.

QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

I. INTRODUCTION

Discuss briefly the major events accompanying the gaining of independence which are likely to influence future developments in Ghana. Describe those factors -- racial, religious, tribal, geographic, etc., -- which contribute to or detract from the unity of the area.

II. THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND TRENDS

- A. What are the current nature and composition of Ghana's government? What are its present policies? How effective are they? What are the aims, character, and position of Premier Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP)? How

SECRET

homogeneous is the CPP? Who are Nkrumah's present rivals and possible successors? What are the degrees and effects of inefficiency and the corruption of the government? To what extent do government operations depend on "expatriates"?

- B. Describe Ghana's other major political, tribal, social, and regional groupings. To what extent are these groups in opposition to the present regime? Who are the present and likely future leaders of any such opposition? What are the connections and relations between the government and the labor unions? What is the strength of the local Communists? What influence do they have on the labor unions? On the government?
- C. What are the likely composition and domestic policies of the Ghana government over the next few years? What are its likely policies regarding minorities and regional problems such as the Ewe in Togoland? What are the prospects for Nkrumah remaining in power during this period? What is the likelihood that the government will have increasing recourse to authoritarian measures? What is the likelihood of serious civil strife?

- 3 -

SECRET

SECRET

- D. What are the government's capabilities for maintaining internal security? What is the present composition of military and police forces? What are their policies and likely future programs? Discuss other military facilities available, including airfields. What are the prospects that airfields would be made available to the West in the event of war?

III. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS

- A. What is the present status of Ghana's economic and financial development? What are the government's economic and fiscal policies? What natural resources are available? Are being exploited? By whom? What is the foreign trade pattern? What is the outlook for agricultural exports, especially of cocoa? What are present economic development plans? What is the outlook for the Volta river project?
- B. What are the prospects for economic growth? For diversification of the economy? What is the extent of Ghana's current and future reliance on external aid? What is the government's attitude toward foreign capital? What are Ghana's prospects for obtaining adequate assistance from the UK? To what degree is Ghana likely to seek aid from other external sources, including the US and the Soviet Bloc?

SECRET

IV. FOREIGN POLICIES

- A. What is the general approach of the ruling group toward problems of foreign relations?
- B. Toward Black Africa? What are Ghana's probable future relations with its close neighbors? Is Ghana likely to adopt a policy of forming and leading a federation of West African states? Is such a development likely in the short term? What are the chances of Ghana choosing instead a policy of territorial aggrandizement? With what consequences? To what extent is Ghana likely to promote nationalism elsewhere in Africa? What would be the repercussions of such an effort in other African states, including possible rivals for influence on the continent?
- C. What are Ghana's likely relations with the Arab states and India, with the Bandung group and Israel?
- D. Toward the UK? Are Ghana's relations with the UK likely to remain on a mutually satisfactory basis? Is Ghana likely to continue West African defense arrangements, to try to expand them into a regional pact, or to drop them altogether?

- 5 -

SECRET

SECRET

Is Ghana likely to tighten or loosen its ties with the UK and the Commonwealth? To what extent will such ties depend on the levels of British assistance?

- E. Toward Other World Powers? Under what circumstances is Ghana likely to seek substantial aid from the US? From the Bloc? What is the likelihood that Ghana will attempt to play one source against the other? Would acceptance of aid necessarily promote closer political and policy alignment with either the Bloc or the West? Is Ghana more likely to try to hold aloof from the East-West conflict and develop its policies in a wholly African context?

V. LONGER-TERM PROSPECTS

In the light of the above factors, discuss briefly prospects for the stability and viability of Ghana, and its future role in African and international affairs.

VI. POST-MORTEM ON NIE 74-57

- 6 -

SECRET